20c OCTOBER 2, 1950

# New Republic

## GALLOPING INFLATION
### AND WHAT MUST BE DONE ABOUT IT

AN EDITORIAL

## THE AMA AND THE "CRUDE BIG LIE"

By JEAN BEGEMAN

## IF RUSSIA ATTACKS YUGOSLAVIA

By I. D. W. TALMADGE

**HAROLD L. ICKES ON:**
**DEAF AND DUMB "JUSTICE"**

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The same is true of HAROLD L. ICKES.

And of T. R. B.

HELEN FULLER, JAMES R. NEWMAN and JEAN BEGEMAN live in Washington, work there, write there.

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New Republic

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EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller

ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling

FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner

REPORTER: Jean Begeman

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

COPY EDITOR: Marjorie Stanley



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## WASHINGTON WIRE

TRUMAN IS CLASPING the 81st Congress to his bosom. He praises its record. It was not true to Truman but Truman is true to it. The 80th Congress was frankly Republican and behaved as such, so Truman effectively denounced it. The 81st Congress was "Democratic" in name at least—so Truman finds it necessary to praise it, though it rejected his Fair Deal. This basic and preposterous lack of reality in American politics confuses everything. It springs primarily from slack party discipline and electoral devices. Probably more than any other single factor, it explains the fact, so deplored by social scientists, that only half the apathetic American voters bother to vote.

**America** has asked its allies to set up what amounts to a UN-World Army. Defense Secretary George Marshall, with all his immense prestige, is now hammering out details in New York. Few Americans know the chronology, which is here set down from an unimpeachable source. On August 5, the French sent Washington a lengthy and realistic memorandum on what the lessons of Korea meant to European defense. On August 17, France sent another memo putting specific, detailed, hard-boiled questions on USA policies. France, like all West Europe, was alarmed, (a), lest the US shift attention from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and (b), that Moscow was willing to risk general war by fanning the Korean battle.

The State Department took the French queries seriously. They raised such issues as the need for a centralized European command, and more US troops. The State Department analyzed them intensely for three weeks and, on September 4, it put on Truman's desk a historic report urging a major intensification of American defense. Truman turned it over to top military and economic advisers. He wrote "Yes" on it, September 9. Acheson's bold five-point program stems from that timetable. In effect, what this program says is, "The Paris proposals" (which seemed revolutionary to the French) "are all right, but they *don't go half far enough.*"

Acheson's five pending proposals are: More US divisions to Europe; more US dollars to Europe; physical integration of West European forces into one army; centralized command over this army; partial rearmament of West Germany. It is the fifth point on which the French, who started it all, hesitate. Socialists threaten to quit the French government over the issue unless it is handled gingerly. Socialist leader Julien Boch, who is also Defense Minister, has hurried to New York to discuss the matter with Marshall and British Defense Minister Shinwell. The prospect for agreement on the five-point US "package plan" seems good.

**Truman often** comes through in the pinches and his 5,000-word veto of the hysterical McCarran anti-subversive bill (promptly over-ridden) deserves plaudits. We think it too bad he didn't make his invincible arguments earlier; he must have known that he was acting too late to stay the legislators' stampede to vote and adjourn, so his message was partly rhetorical. He also declined to use the effective technique of a pocket veto. This does not modify the terrifying possibilities of the McCarran omnibus law if it is enforced. Let's be frank about it, however. Many of those who voted for it did not believe it was enforcible or that Truman would enforce it.

**It may be** a side-issue, but this business of passing unenforcible laws on to the Executive seems to us fundamentally more frightening than the McCarran law itself. It means contempt for the legislative process by the legislature. Take three instances: Congress could not economize so it proposed to pass the buck to the Executive, telling him to cut

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expenditures 10 percent, frankly admitting its own impotency. Again, Congress told Truman to make a loan to Franco Spain, apparently quite content a few days later that he should shelve its hasty political action, which was taken in large measure to conciliate Catholic votes. Finally comes the McCarran anti-subversive law, passed to prove the superpatriotism of politicians, with the undoubted reservation that Truman would probably find some way out, if simply by non-enforcement. All this chills our spine a little—Congress leaning thus on the President.

**The GOP** is centering an organized election attack on Acheson. Henry Luce's *Life* magazine lets hardly an issue pass without calling for his resignation. Acheson is regarded by most allied European statesmen as America's best foreign secretary in a generation. The Luce attack is really a "respectable" way of following up McCarthyism.

The promise of Congress to come back in a couple of months and start writing the EPT (Excess Profits Tax) law is like the promise of firemen to come over some time and put out a fire. As genial, temperate Chairman Thomas B. McCabe of the Federal Reserve Board said in Boston last week: "Inflation isn't around the corner, it is here right now. This is the most pressing internal problem before our country today." There is a real question whether the Lame Duck session, which is scheduled to reassemble here November 27, will write EPT anyway.

**Notes.** What a delightful life, one of columnist Doris Fleeson's admirers wrote her recently, to be able to get all your information at cocktail parties . . . First big political effect of TV, the growing giant, is to give America a national villain: Malik at the absorbing UN meetings. Half of America will be within range of expanding TV networks September 30. . . . Our reluctant admiration to the one-man, 11-hour filibuster of Senator George W. Malone (R, Nev.) against a federal slot-machine ban; it gave him victory in his solo battle for the gambling interests.

*Washington* T.R.B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Noxious Doctrine

SIR: In answer to the question put by Mr. A. H. Berman—"Is it possible that there are still deluded liberals and radicals who are not aware what would happen to them if the American Politburo were given a chance?"—in your issue of August 14, permit me to say that here is one liberal who, utterly without delusion as to what would happen to him if dictatorship, whether of Left or Right, triumphed in America, still insists that it is unrealistic, even suicidal, *not* to defend the political rights of those who would deprive him of them if they could.

The postulate of the great democratic adventure is that thought will make men free; that the best test of the validity of an idea is its ability to get itself accepted in the market place; and that the surest weapon with which to overcome noxious doctrine is good doctrine.

It was no deluded liberal, but Jefferson, who wrote:

> If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which errors of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it.

It was no deluded liberal, but Holmes, who wrote:

> If in the long run the beliefs expressed in proletarian dictatorship are destined to be accepted by the dominant forces in the community, the only meaning of free speech is that they should be given their chance and have their way.

It was no deluded liberal, but Brandeis, who wrote:

> If there be time to expose through discussion the fallacies and falsehoods, to avert the evil by processes of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence.

There is nothing soft or doctrinaire about this position. The enlightened social philosophers, from Montesquieu to Meiklejohn, recognize, in Brandeis' phrase, "the risks to which all human institutions are subject." . . .

The drive in the America of our day is to orthodoxy, conformity, acceptance, inertia and silence. In the America of our day the handful of Communists, scattered, discredited and despised, are no danger to the democratic adventure. The danger is the more real one—and let no "emancipated" liberal delude himself otherwise—that, under cover of the campaign against the Communists, those of the Right, infinitely more numerous and more powerful and equally impatient with that adventure, will inflict mortal injury on it. The Federalists put over the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts under cover of anti-Jacobinism; and Hitler was not the last demagogue to pursue his fascist aims under the banner of anti-Communism. . . .

The answer to the challenge to democracy is more democracy and not the craven truckling which in some quarters (thank Heaven, not the *New Republic*) parades as liberalism.

*New York City* DAVID L. WEISSMAN

### Bright Star

SIR: I think that Mr. Flamm (the *NR*, July 24) is correct in the controversy regarding the $64 question.

The latest Supreme Court decision on this subject, if my facts are correct, was in the Barnette Case (1943). The essence of Justice Jackson's majority opinion was as follows:

> If there is any bright star in our Constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, may prescribe what is orthodox in politics, religion or matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.

If you know of a subsequent opinion which has blacked out the "bright star," would you let us know in "Washington Wire."

Please be assured that I like TRB's column immensely, and value his opinions.

*San Francisco, Calif.* L. BROWN

### Conscientious Objectors

SIR: In the noise and confusion of preparing a great nation to conduct a war, or even a police action, many lesser things get overlooked. One of these lesser things (lesser only in that it involves comparatively few people) is the rights of conscientious objectors — those individuals who, in the face of an armed nation, persist in their right to follow the dictates of their own consciences.

Too often these individuals find themselves in prison or the army through ignorance of their legal rights. To help prevent this situation, the Metropolitan Board for Conscientious Objectors was organized to give aid and counsel to those who felt they could not serve in the armed forces or could not serve in a combatant capacity.

This Board has recently been reactivated and information about its services can be obtained by writing to the Metropolitan Board for Conscientious Objectors, Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street, New York 7.

*New York City* DEWITTE WYCKOFF

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New Republic

# GALLOPING INFLATION

THE RISE IN PRICES of products going into our military program has eaten up almost the entire $4.5 billion in new taxes just voted by Congress, even before it has been collected.

Prices are going up so fast that the President is reluctantly considering the need to place ceilings on certain commodities right now instead of after the November elections. If business is not checked in its trend toward higher and higher wholesale prices and larger and larger inventories, a wave of cost-of-living strikes and a big increase in prices to consumers will be inevitable this winter.

The war in Korea has been immediately reflected in prices. The average market cost of 28 basic commodities jumped 21 percent between June 23, the week before the attack, and the end of August. Farm products and foods went up eight percent during that time, industrial commodities, five percent. Retail prices, which move much more slowly than those on the wholesale market, have only begun their advance. Between mid-June and mid-July, the Consumer Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics went up 1.4 percent. It was more than two percent higher by mid-August, in spite of the very low price of produce at this season. The only hope now is to keep prices from advancing more than another 10 to 15 percent before January.

The heaviest price pressure is on raw materials used in the manufacture of items required by the armed services. Since April, the price of copper has risen 27 percent; the price of lead, 52 percent; steel scrap, 58 percent; zinc, 62 percent; cotton cloth, 50 percent; rubber, 80 percent; wool, 45 percent; lumber, 15 percent. The customary industry alibi that higher wages have forced higher prices obviously is not a valid answer in any of these cases.

The armed forces today are paying 30 percent more for high-octane aviation fuel than they were five months ago. Ship parts have increased on an average of 10 to 12 percent. Prices of electronic spare parts for aircraft are now as much as 175 percent above those prevailing before the Korean war. Army maintenance costs are also up,with bacon costing the armed forces 28 percent more than it did in April; eggs, 20 percent; and pork, 27 percent.

And military spending has not yet hit its stride. As we move toward the possible $40 billion defense budget which the President has hinted at for next year, it will become a heavy inflationary factor. The President has the power under the Defense Production Act to put price ceilings on the key raw materials. The effort thus far has been to stabilize these prices at wholesale by voluntary agreement. While Secretary of Commerce Sawyer and those in charge of mobilizing production continue laborious negotiations with industry toward this end, the President should impose controls on the price of lumber and other building materials, on steel and other basic metals, and on the major grains to prevent a runaway situation that is sure to force a general price-wage freeze if left unchecked.

**The principal pinch** felt by consumers thus far has been in the price of food. Since Korea, wholesale food prices have advanced 3.3 percent. In the stores, according to the BLS, housewives now pay five percent more for bread than they did on June 15; eight percent more for hamburger; six percent more for milk; seven percent more for sugar; 12 percent more for coffee; and 23 percent more for eggs.

Since Korea, profiteering merchants have also marked up substantially the price tags on furniture, appliances, radios and television sets, and manufacturers are placing still higher prices on these items, which will soon be handed down to the retailers. Stores are selling the stock they purchased at old prices for whatever the traffic will bear. National increases, like the 10-percent boost in prices of washing machines, dish washers and other household equipment announced by the General Electric Company last week, will send the cost of durable goods to the consumer much higher.

Sheets, rugs, hosiery and clothing are already more than 10 percent higher than before Korea, and the biggest increases in apparel prices will not be reflected in the stores until next spring, since most of the fall merchandise was ordered early this year.

Under the Defense Production Act, the President can put ceilings on the price of consumer durables or textiles or apparel if at the same time he orders wages stabilized in the industries producing these products. The pro-

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vision by which Congress tied wages to prices is unflexible in the extreme, and, until amended, would be highly unfair to labor if applied generally. However, the President can now fairly impose price-plus-wage controls in some key consumer industries. He should prepare amendments to the present Act to permit equitable adjustment between wages and prices in the other cases, and schedule a special session of Congress immediately after the election to act on them.

Until the Defense Production Act is changed, there is little that the President can do to control the price of food, which amounts to one-third of the average family budget. Farm-bloc Congressmen succeeded in writing in a provision that no ceiling can be set on farm products at below parity, or the average price for May 24 to June 24, whichever is higher. At this moment, cotton, wool and meat are the only three categories of farm products selling at above parity, and, therefore, are the only farm products on which the President could set ceilings at below the present market price. Any ceiling set on milk, butter, eggs, chicken, potatoes, rice, wheat, corn, oranges, lemons or like products would have to be established at a level above the price today. As inflation mounts on the retail side, this sort of limited authority will be hopelessly inadequate to the protection of the consumer. A special session of Congress to amend the Defense Act so that the President can set price ceilings below parity and make up the difference with federal subsidies will be urgently needed.

Meanwhile, the President must take steps to prevent meat from becoming the problem it was during World War II. It will take drastic action to prevent a repetition of the nightmare at that time. As animals come off the summer range and onto the market in the fall and early winter, ceilings should be set; yet price ceilings proved to be inadequate control before.

Experts estimate that rents have increased 25 percent since the 80th Congress began weakening the rent-control law. The Defense Production Act makes no provision for controlling rents, and Administration leaders in Congress went back on a promise to bring out separate rent-control legislation in this session. Truman certainly should include a proposal to renew rent controls in his request for amendments to the Production Act.

The President was correct in recommending a selective approach to the problems of inflation brought on by our participation in the Korean war. The "freeze" approach to economic stabilization, advocated by Bernard M. Baruch and seized upon by malicious Republicans, is an emergency device, not suited to the long pull with which we seem to be faced. Our economy must be free to live and breathe if we are to rise to the productive heights required.

There is good reason to believe that selective price controls, properly timed and administered, together with stringent taxes and a tight regulation of credit, can keep us moving steadily forward. The timing and the administration of the controls now in his power are the President's immediate concern. He is encountering understandable trouble in securing a truly able administrator for the price program, since that person sits in the Washington equivalent of an electric chair. Having obtained his man, however, we hope that the President will take another look at the pace of inflation and recognize that the longer he waits to use his control powers, the harder it will be to restore stability.

## CONGRESS AIDS THE COMMUNISTS

THE McCarran-Wood Communist-control bill is now law. The Congress of the United States has succumbed to hysteria and expediency in placing upon the books a statute which the President of the United States declared will constitute "a clear and present danger to our institutions." "In cowering and foolish fear," in the President's words, Congress has been led to "throw away the ideals which are the fundamental basis of our free society."

In vetoing the McCarran-Wood bill, President Truman showed courage and responsibility of the highest order. Under election-year pressure, Administration leaders in both Houses voted for the bill and pleaded with the President to sign it on political grounds. Instead, the President issued a veto message which does him honor and will serve as a guide in the drive which now must be undertaken to repeal this law and return to sanity.

"The net result of [the McCarran-Wood law]," the President stated, "would be to help the Communists, not to hurt them." The provisions of the law relating to registration of Communists will, he warns, be "no serious damage to the Communists, much damage to the rest of us."

These provisions are not merely ineffective and unworkable. . . . The application of the registration requirement to so-called Communist-front organizations can be the greatest danger to freedom of speech, press and assembly, since the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798. . . . This provision could

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easily be used to classify as a Communist-front organization any organization which is advocating a single policy or objective which is also being urged by the Communist Party or by a Communist foreign government.

In fact, this may be the intended result, since the bill defines "organization" to include "a group of persons . . . permanently or temporarily associated together for joint action on any subject or subjects." Thus, an organization which advocates low-cost housing for sincere humanitarian reasons might be classified as a Communist-front organization because the Communists regularly exploit slum conditions as one of their fifth-column techniques.

The basic error of these sections is that they move in the direction of suppressing opinion and belief. . . . The result could only be to reduce the vigor and strength of our political life.

The President's veto message went into the evils of the McCarran-Wood bill in great detail. To emphasize his objections to it, Truman took the unusual course of directing a personal letter to every member of the House requesting most careful consideration before they voted to override his veto. To assure the fullest possible study of the flaws in the "Communist-control" legislation by the Senate, the President privately urged holding the all-night session, which delayed voting on the veto in the upper body for more than 20 hours. But Congress was beyond an appeal to conscience. Members by the score abandoned their principles in view of the imminent election and what they imagined to be a public demand for anti-Communist action. Only 48 members of the House and only 10 members of the Senate stood behind the President when the showdown came. Not one Republican in the Senate and only two Republicans in the House were willing when the test came to stand up against this vicious bill.

As the Department of Justice prepares itself to enforce the new law, at the cost of what the Attorney General has warned will be serious interference with its other duties, those who saw the dangers in the McCarran-Wood bill from the start must organize the campaign for repeal when Congress returns November 27.

## THE WEEK

### WATCHDOG COMMITTEE

The new Senate Preparedness Committee, headed by Lyndon Johnson (D, Tex.), will stay at work during the coming Congressional recess to keep an eye on the mobilization program and try to hurry it along.

Patterned along the lines of the old Truman War Investigating Committee of World War II, the new "watchdog" Senate group has already lifted more than one Munitions Board and Defense Department official out of lethargy. One item on the committee's future agenda will be a study of Alaskan defenses and the "probable lack of coördination between civil and military" activities there, including housing, transportation, construction bottlenecks and labor difficulties, "possibly subversive in origin." Three committee members—Senators Lester Hunt (D, Wyo.), Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) and Leverett Saltonstall (R, Mass.)—plan to leave for Alaska as soon as Congress adjourns.

Another "task force" will make an extensive study of the entire big steel industry to find out how adequate our steel capacity is for future armament programs plus domestic uses, and to consider steel capacity in terms of demand "in the next ten years" with an eye on the possibility of government-financed facilities if industry doesn't meet the need. (One steel company told the *Wall Street Journal* that the committee study looks "pretty comprehensive. . . . It has already asked us for statistics going back to 1920.")

The committee intends to evaluate the Ordnance Corps and its relationship to the Department of Defense. This probe is expected to turn up tendencies on the part of Ordnance "to delay production awaiting perfection of design, to reject suggestions from manufacturers and others outside the Corps and to be reluctant to incorporate such suggestions in either their research or production."

Foreign cartel monopolies dealing in strategic materials overseas will be the subject for another "task force." Basic manpower needs, the effective use of surplus agricultural commodities, the national stockpile of strategic and critical materials will all come under the surveillance of the Preparedness Committee. Coördinating the "task force" investigations is Donald Cook, the young vice-chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission who was chief counsel for the old House Naval Affairs Committee.

### IN WISCONSIN

*MILWAUKEE (NR correspondent)*

The Wisconsin primary has left the Democrats optimistic about beating Republican Senator Alexander Wiley in November. The total primary vote was larger than in 1946, and almost as heavy as in 1948. More important, the Democratic proportion of the vote cast was greatly increased. In 1946, when the LaFollette Progressives were still active and were splitting the liberal vote, Democrats polled less than 14 percent of the total. In 1948, the Democratic vote rose to about 18 percent. This year it jumped to almost 30 percent.

Attorney General Thomas E. Fairchild, 37-year-old bearer of a good Wisconsin political name, defeated three opponents to win the Democratic nomination: William Sanderson, former secretary to Representative Merlin Hull

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(R, Wis.), who was supported by the AFL, the Farmers' Union and many co-operative leaders; Daniel Hoan, long-time Socialist mayor of Milwaukee; and former Representative La Vern Dilweg. Bitterness was inevitably created in so hot a race, and it is a question whether the factional disputes can now be ended and a vigorous united campaign started.

But Fairchild is an intelligent and attractive man who surprised the state by running ahead of the entire ticket in 1948. The large vote this year and the unusual number of Democrats running for local offices are evidence of a great increase in organizational strength. The Democrats are banking on this new vigor in the party to pull them through. But they will have to work hard to offset the loss of interest in politics that experts fear may have resulted from the war.

The Republicans, however, have helpfully hit upon a campaign slogan that may prove their greatest mistake. Walter Kohler Jr., GOP candidate for governor, blurted out last week that the Korean struggle is "a Democratic war." And Wiley has started pounding away that it is time for a change, because three wars under the Democrats is too much. This campaign tactic has already caused shock. An important and necessary element in a potential Democratic victory, in addition to the old Progressive farmers, is the Milwaukee silk-stocking-ward vote, which is decidedly opposed to the isolationist element. Wiley and Kohler may scare this group over to the Fairchild fold.

"You the man that ordered a watchdog?"

## FIGHTING THE BLACKLIST

With the appearance of Gypsy Rose Lee on a radio program broadcast by the ABC network, the liberals took the offensive in the blacklist war. The chain's president, Robert E. Kintner, had refused to accept *Red Channels* as gospel, in spite of demands by the Illinois American Legion. Miss Lee, elected that week as second vice-president of the AFL's American Guild of Variety Artists, had taken the legally-required oath asserting that she is not a Communist. She made public a list of about 300 benefit appearances she had made in the last 12 or 15 years which *Red Channels* had failed to mention when she was charged with "collaboration" with four groups labelled Red. Kintner, without mentioning these facts, simply refused to fire a performer on the strength of a *Red Channels* listing.

Miss Lee's case is not the only one on the hopeful side in this affair. The American Civil Liberties Union, through a special committee under the chairmanship of Merle Miller, has also stepped into the situation. The Actors' Equity Council has voted a resolution protesting further dismissals of the kind suffered by Jean Muir. The Authors' League, the American Federation of Radio Artists, the Television Authority (a new trade union of television actors, now in the process of contract negotiations) and other groups in show business were also organizing action against the *Red Channels* boycott. Few persons in the trade unions in show business, or among the networks for that matter, wanted an industry "loyalty board," as suggested by the General Foods Corporation. A group of prominent writers—none notoriously left-wing in sympathies—was organizing a campaign against *Red Channels*. A well known attorney was preparing to file a batch of libel suits, perhaps 50 or more, against the *Red Channels* publishers.

## THE MEN AND THE ISSUES

The United States is engaged in a great struggle against world Communism.

Can we win without a world war?

Can we win without sacrificing our own freedom?

These are the basic questions in the 1950 campaign. Next week, in our 1950 Congressional issue, we shall spell them out, together with the voting record of every Representative and Senator on 15 key issues this year. As far as we know, this is the only comprehensive analysis of the campaign in any magazine. Reprints will be available at low cost.

## THE ASSEMBLY BEGINS

*FLUSHING MEADOW (NR correspondent)*

One of the chief impressions at the Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations is that the delegates are clearly conscious of their role as agents helping shape the world's future. There is a seriousness of purpose deepened by recent, well-known events. There is an awareness that the Assembly is destined, for diverse reasons, to grow in stature.

It is clear that in these days of crisis and tension, the small nations mean to make their voices heard. Their own future is at stake in the conflict among the great powers. The Assembly provides them with the forum to register their concerns and to make their influence felt. Being human, they do not want to be dragged into an abyss without at least having had their say.

It is a practical lesson in international justice and equity to witness the activities of the smaller nations in the Assembly.

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The delegate from Peru or from Ecuador will follow to the stand the representative from the United States or from the United Kingdom, and be accorded a similar respectful hearing. The same leveling process is observed in the voting procedure, when the Belgian delegate may deposit his vote in the box before the chairman summons the big powers to cast their ballots. These are small things in themselves. They indicate, nevertheless, how the Assembly is orientated—in structure and in intention, if not always in practice—toward juridical equality of all the nations. As it grows in importance, the Assembly will provide momentum for an authentic world order.

The proposals of Secretary of State Dean Acheson, delivered before the plenary session on the second day, are frankly directed toward increasing the power of the Assembly. His recommendations that the Assembly be empowered to take direct action in case of aggression could be truly revolutionary in effect. If they are endorsed by the delegates, it will mean that the Assembly will advance toward becoming a strong and effective world organization. Precisely because the proposals of the Secretary are so far-reaching, some delegations are adopting a cautious attitude. We may expect the Hearst-McCormick clique of isolationists to raise the cry that American sovereignty is in peril.

Soviet Russia seems resolved to remain at Flushing Meadow for the life of the Assembly, though any prophecy in this respect is hazardous. This theory explains, as well as anything can, why the Soviets were so moderate in the opening days. Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky's brief and restrained comment on the vote against the admission of Communist China surprised many by its lack of invective. Much more had been expected. Vishinsky confined himself to commenting that the decision was "illegal and incorrect."

The agenda of the current Assembly is heavy. Such issues as Spain, Formosa, the status of Jerusalem, and the return of Japanese and German prisoners now held by Russia are fertile seeds of controversy. Overshadowing everything else, of course, is Korea.

The vote on the admission of the Communist regime of China into the Assembly proves how the Korean problem dominates the attitudes of the majority of delegates. The resolutions of both India and of Soviet Russia to seat the Peiping government were roundly defeated. But the Chinese question was thereby merely postponed. There is a widespread belief at Flushing Meadow that once the Korean question has been solved to the satisfaction of the West, the Communists will have a much better chance for admission to the Assembly.

## OUTSIDE AMERICA

**European** men-of-good-will (by which this column means those who believe progress and power should work in tandem) don't often find words of wisdom in the pages of Harry Luce's publications. An article on "The Ugly War", in Korea by *Time's* John Osborne was an exception. Widely quoted excerpts were:

> The machine age and the machine man of the West can be pretty wonderful. But machines still can't talk to people, not as we must learn—and learn very soon—to talk to the people of Asia. . . . Above all, our leaders must grasp one quite simple fact: war against the Communists of Asia cannot be won—not really won—by military means alone. . . . To attempt to win it so, as we are now doing in Korea, is not only to court final failure but also to force upon our men in the field acts and attitudes of utter savagery. . . . Our leaders still have not recognized the union of politics and arms in war. We laugh at the "commissars" whom the Communists take good care to have with their military forces, and we refuse to see that with our enemies the "politics" comes first, the fighting second. We, in short, persist in thinking of political warfare as something to be practiced by rear-area pamphleteers and tolerated by the fellow doing the real fighting. However we may fare again in Europe with our chronic neglect of the political aspects of war, we cannot get by with it in Asia. That is the lesson of Korea.

Few subjects have recently dominated the thinking of European men-of-good-will more than the effort to interpret the lesson of Korea. Many of the ex-Communist intellectuals to whom the Kremlin stands for *The God That Failed* believe the time has passed for political action of any kind, or for old-fashioned morality. They agree with the statement made by James Burnham of *The Machiavellians* at the Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom that there are good atomic bombs and bad ones, depending on whether they are used against or by the Communists. They also agree with Arthur Koestler of *Darkness at Noon* that the only two categories that still count are an absolute for and an absolute against Communism; Left and Right have lost their political meaning; Socialism (or even progress) against Capitalism (or imperialism) has become economically irrelevant.

But, to a large number of European men-of-good-will these are dangerous over-simplifications. For example, the London *Observer*, whose position isn't exactly Left, points out:

> The Korean aggression has caused many people in America, and a few people here, to lose their mental balance, and to talk and act as if a world war had broken out or were at least inevitable and imminent. There is no reason for such talk, and hysteria can do as much harm in our present situation as complacency. . . . "War" is a precisely definable state of affairs, and we are definitely not at war. If we should one day have to go to war, we would not be at war with any "ism," but with a foreign state or states. Even in a metaphorical sense, it is highly inaccurate and misleading to say that we are at war with Communism. The danger to world peace, against which we have to guard, is not Communism as such, but expansionist Russian imperialism, which seeks to use the idea of Communism as one of its tools.

And the Conservative newspaper stresses the point which had made Osborne's remarks in *Time* so well received:

> A joint effort to raise living standards in Asia is today, as much as ever, an indispensable part of an effective world defense against Russian imperialism. Western arms alone can never keep Asia out of the grip of Moscow.

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It remained for Maurice Duverger, a French intellectual writing in the neutralist *Monde* of Paris, to offer a totally different interpretation of the lesson of Korea. He is a man of the Right to whom the Kremlin symbolizes not *The God That Failed* but the Caesar who succeeded. He writes:

> The superiority of the Soviet world is perhaps more technical than doctrinal. In its deepest essence Communism is less a doctrine and a faith than an admirable technique for inserting men into a social framework, which is well suited to the massive nature of contemporary societies. . . . The genius of the Communists is to have understood, on the one hand, the practical impossibility of democracy, and, on the other hand, the mystic attachment to it that people still have. They have kept the democratic vocabulary and the appearance of liberal institutions while systematically organizing a coherent and powerful oligarchy capable of forcing the masses into a stable framework and of governing them without ever losing contact with them. . . . The Soviet superiority comes mostly from a higher development of applied political science.

Duverger approves Western democracy's use of the same or similar methods, and is given the first page of the most important newspaper in France as his vehicle. He says:

> The drama is not that the West is ignorant of this [Stalinist] technique of manipulation of men; the drama is that the West refuses knowingly to use them because it considers them opposed to its individualistic and liberal principles. The West is going to die because it wants to keep its hands clean. . . . The technique of political organization used by the Communists is more effective than the atomic bomb. . . . All of the West's effort should be to confine this new science within its proper limits and goal. Instead of rejecting these ideas *a priori* as sacrilegious, we should think about them and draw the necessary conclusions. Because the military rearmament of the West makes no sense if its political disarmament continues.

The point seems to be to the European men-of-good-will (for whom Duverger does *not* speak) that unless the Americans quickly learn in Asia the lesson which Osborne finds explicit in "The Ugly War" in Asia, we won't get by in Europe, either, with our neglect of politics—our politics, democratic politics.

PERCY WINNER

# COULD TITO HOLD OUT?

**by I. D. W. Talmadge**

THERE IS REASON to believe that the implications of Korea have not been lost on the Yugoslavs. In private conversation, Belgrade officials no longer say *if* there is an armed attack by Russia, but *when* there is such an attack.

The visitor to Yugoslavia cannot escape the impression that the Tito regime feels that it is living on borrowed time. There is widespread apprehension that the Kremlin, flushed with the "victories" in Korea, may be tempted to settle its old accounts in Europe. It may decide to do so now, the Yugoslavs reason, while Western Europe is still disarmed and while American troops are bogged down in Korea.

To be sure, everything seems calm on the surface. Publicly, Yugoslav leaders deny that war is imminent. But they are taking no changes. The army is alerted, leaves have been canceled, the entire country is on a war footing.

Those Belgrade officials who are willing to discuss the issue frankly concede that there are two unknowns in this political equation. One is the timing of the attack. Will it come this fall, or will it be delayed till spring, or even later? This may depend upon the outcome of the Korean conflict.

Second, what form will the armed attack take? Will the Russians fight the war against the Yugoslavs "by proxy," using the Soviet satellite states? Or, will it be a direct armed invasion by the Soviet Red Army?

In either event, how able is Tito's Yugoslavia to defend herself?

Perhaps the best way to answer the question is to examine the three decisive elements in Yugoslavia's war potential—(1) her military strength; (2) her economic position; and (3) the spirit of the people.

**1. The military picture.** How strong is Yugoslavia? She has the largest and most effective fighting force on the European continent west of the Iron Curtain. To guard the 1,300 miles of frontiers which Yugoslavia shares with her four Cominform neighbors (Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Albania), Tito commands an army consisting of 33 to 35 highly-trained, well-armed, battleworthy divisions of 10,000 men each. In addition, there are some 80,000 militia and 70,000 men in other armed units. These are supported by close to a million trained reserves. Thus Tito could, on short notice, increase his army's strength to 1.5 million fighting men.

The army is equipped with some 400 tanks (mostly medium-sized) and 700-odd front-line planes. To supplement her own output, Yugoslavia is presently importing from West Germany (with US approval) $1 million worth of former German Army equipment.

On the other side of the border, according to recent and reliable reports, the satellite states of Bulgaria, Hun-

I. D. W. Talmadge, foreign-affairs editor of "Scholastic Magazines," has just returned from a trip to Yugoslavia. He has worked for newspapers and magazines in many European countries, including Russia. In 1941, he edited "Whose Revolution?" a symposium by liberals similar in tone to the recently published "The God That Failed."

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gary and Rumania have among them a total of 16 divisions. (The ground forces of little Albania are negligible.) Bulgaria, which borders on Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia, is known to have the strongest force—eight fully-armed divisions, including one armored division and some 200 planes, mostly Yaks and Stormoviks. Hungary and Rumania are believed to have another eight combat divisions between them. These satellite armies, however, are no match for Tito's tough troops. They are not as capably led or as well trained. They also lack the morale of Tito's forces. It is questionable to what extent the Soviets can trust them in action.

Of late, Russia has been working overtime to reduce Yugoslavia's superiority vis-à-vis the neighboring Cominform states. She is rapidly rearming and expanding the satellite forces, standardizing their equipment, supplying them with sizable quantities of Soviet T-34 tanks, self-propelled 155-mm. guns, field artillery and aircraft. How much and how fast is not known. Though there is no immediate prospect that the military balance may tip against Tito, it is possible that he may be compelled eventually to ask for arms from the United States.

For the present, and for a long time to come, the ratio will remain in Tito's favor. It is the consensus among qualified Western military observers that the Yugoslavs can lick any one or a combination of *all* the satellite states, hands down. Tito's army, they are firmly convinced, is superior to anything the neighboring Cominform countries can line up collectively.

The picture would be different, of course, in case of direct intervention by Russia. The Yugoslavs could not stem a full-scale Red Army invasion. But in that event, ex-Partisan Tito plans to resort to guerrilla warfare, at which he is a master. He would fight only delaying actions in the northern plains, while withdrawing his main forces to the hills of Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as he did in the last war. He might not even attempt to defend Belgrade, which lies in an open field only 40 miles from the Rumanian border.

Tito's strategists believe that the Yugoslavs can hold out in the mountainous terrain indefinitely—or until, as they hope, military aid arrives from the United States or the United Nations. (They are not exactly displeased by the presence of two US aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean, which might unleash their planes if Yugoslavia were assaulted by the Russians.) It will be recalled that Hitler's armies had no easy time of it in Yugoslavia. The Russians are not expected to fare any better. They would have to pay a heavy price for each foot of Yugoslav territory.

It is an open secret that Western diplomats in Belgrade have been urging Tito to patch up his differences with Yugoslav's non-Cominform neighbors in an effort to work out a common defense. For ideological reasons, Tito has shied away from entering into a defense alliance. Otherwise, progress has been made. Yugoslavia's relations with Austria have improved a great deal. With Turkey, which does not border on Yugoslavia, Belgrade is on the friendliest of terms. On the other hand, relations with Italy and Greece are not yet back to normal. True, Trieste has ceased to be a major issue; the dispute now is chiefly over Zone B of the Free Territory. Some observers suspect that Tito is not too eager to settle this dispute. He would just as soon have the United States and Britain continue to maintain their armed contingents on his western border.

A long-overdue rapprochement with Greece was blocked when the intractable Yugoslavs suddenly—on the eve of exchanging ministers with Athens—brought up the issue of the "oppressed" Macedonian minority in Greece. This did not sit well with Athens. As a result, relations between the two countries are still strained.

Yet the situation is far from hopeless. The Yugoslavs have apparently thought matters over, in the light of Korean events. An Associated Press dispatch from London late in August reported that the Belgrade government had called on Britain to help bring about Yugoslav-Greek and Yugoslav-Italian reconciliations. Accordingly, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin sent his deputy, Ernest Davies, to the capitals of the three countries in the hope of restoring normal relations.

**2. The economic picture.** Shortages of men, machines and money are the principal headaches that plague the Tito regime on its home front. A predominantly peasant country, Yugoslavia lacks skilled manpower. She also lacks machine-building equipment for her over-ambitious Five-Year Plan. And, most of all, she is critically short of foreign exchange.

The Yugoslav government has received two loans from our Export-Import Bank totaling $40 million, and a loan of $22 million in sterling from the British. It was recently made known that the US Export-Import Bank has agreed in principle to grant the Yugoslavs a third loan of $15 million. This is merely a fraction of the amount they had requested. Yugoslavia also applied more than a year ago for a $25 million loan from the World Bank. Whether this loan ever materializes remains to be seen.

Yugoslavia's foreign-exchange reserve is rapidly dwindling. The chief of the Yugoslav Economic Planning Commission, Boris Kildrich, reported to his government in July that the country's cash accounts abroad will be exhausted in about three months. Even the credits in the trade agreements with the Western countries, he warned, would be gone by that time.

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However, not long after Kildrich's doleful report Yugoslavia received another shot in the arm. Oddly enough, it came from West Germany. It was announced on August 26 that the Allied High Commission in Germany, after a two-month delay, had finally authorized the Bonn government to grant the Yugoslavs a $30 million long-term loan, as part of a bilateral trade agreement. The long-term loan, moreover, is supplementary to $35 million in short-term credits. Thus, the West Germans are actually extending to the Yugoslavs financial assistance to the amount of $65 million.

This may ease but will hardly cure all of Tito's economic aches. Yugoslav trade with the Western countries is mostly on a cash-and-carry basis. The chief exports are timber, copper ore and corn. Yugoslavia could increase production of these export items if she had enough new equipment. But she cannot purchase additional equipment abroad without increasing exports.

To break through this vicious circle, the Yugoslav government has been compelled to export more and more foodstuffs—and this from a country already suffering from acute food shortages. Consequently, what little food is available in the open market has risen in price more than 20 percent over last year. And production of consumer goods is almost at a standstill.

If there is a bright spot on the economic front, it is the armaments industry. The Yugoslav war plants receive top priority in men and materials. It is reliably reported that they are currently turning out enough arms to equip an army of 500,000 men. Nor are they producing only small arms. In the last May Day parade in Belgrade there were several Yugoslav-made tanks modeled on the giant Soviet T-34s. Nearly half of the total national income is earmarked for the military budget.

**3. The morale of the people.** The mere fact that Uncle Joe turned against his former favorite "nephew," Josip, does not make the latter a democrat. Tito was and is a Communist. In the five years that he has been in power he has transformed Yugoslavia into a despotic dictatorship—closely patterned on the Soviet model. He has mercilessly stamped out all opposition and has denied the oppressed masses at least three and a half of the Four Freedoms.

Admittedly, the Tito dictatorship is not as monolithic as Stalin's. It has not had time to solidify to the same extent. But it is equally ruthless. Tito has fashioned a police state, albeit the police wear white gloves. Of course, there are differences between his dictatorship and Stalin's. But they are no more fundamental than the differences between, say, Mussolini's Fascism and Hitler's Nazism. The Yugoslav people have no illusions about the true nature of the Tito regime and most of them are dead set against it. Unfortunately, however, the alternative in Yugoslavia today is not Titoism or democracy, but Titoism or Stalinism. Given this unhappy choice, the overwhelming majority of the people unquestionably prefer the native brand of totalitarianism to that of Stalin.

Western observers are agreed that in the event of armed intervention by the Soviets, Tito can count on the support of most, if not all, of the Yugoslav people. Even the most ardent foes of the regime, they believe, will fight to stave off a foreign invasion, just as the Russian people fought against the Nazi invaders. Stealing a leaf from Stalin's book, the Belgrade propagandists are set to present the coming war to the masses not as a fight for Tito's Communism but as a fight for national independence and against foreign domination.

With the Russian bear at Tito's door, the government has begun to woo the peasantry. Collectivization has been frozen at the 20-percent figure reached earlier this year. Further collectivization, I was told by a Yugoslav official, will be carried out only on a voluntary basis. "We find that it is better," he said, "to have one good collective farm than ten poor ones."

In the 26 months since Tito's rift with the Cominform, Moscow has tried in every way to unseat him—by propaganda attacks, by renunciation of treaties, by an economic blockade. But Tito is still firmly in the saddle. There is only one more trick left in the Moscow book—armed intervention. And most Yugoslavs believe that Moscow will pull that one next.

In recent weeks, the armies of the neighboring satellite states have been moving up on Yugoslavia's border and holding maneuvers within striking range of that country. Intelligence reports received by the Belgrade government reveal that Soviet military missions are hastily streamlining and mechanizing the armed forces of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. Border "incidents," not uncommon in the past, have become more frequent of late. They are no longer played up in the Belgrade press.

Moreover, since the outbreak of the Korean conflict the Cominform propaganda barrage leveled at the heretic Tito regime has been greatly stepped up. The Cominform propaganda boys, who were never exactly gentle with the Titoists, have now abandoned all subtlety and are hitting below the belt. The Budapest radio beamed into Yugoslavia recently exhorted the "healthy elements" in that country to wreck Yugoslav transport and mining industries. The same station has unceremoniously called for the assassination of that "dollar-traitor, Fascist Marshal Tito, and his band."

What is regarded in Belgrade as even more ominous, however, are the recent accusations in the satellite press

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that Yugoslavia is planning to invade the neighboring Cominform countries. This has a familiar ring to Yugoslav ears. It follows too closely the Korean pattern—the Soviet charges that the South Koreans attacked North Korea. In a word, the old Muscovite yarn that the canary ate the cat.

Because they have been Stalinists themselves, the Yugoslav leaders believe that they understand the Stalinist mentality better than the Western statesmen do. Consequently they are convinced that the "dialectics" of the situation make an eventual armed conflict with the Kremlin inevitable. Not that the Belgrade officials would dare admit that in print—Marx forbid! They are overly cautious in their public pronouncements for fear of inciting the Russian bear. (Witness Ales Bebler's tightrope act in the UN Security Council.) But privately these officials will tell you that Yugoslavia stands a good chance of being next on the Kremlin's timetable. As they see it, the existence of a non-Stalinist Communist state is a threat to the Soviet empire. It sets a bad example for the satellites. Titoism, the Kremlin realizes, is a contagious "disease."

I asked a Yugoslav Communist official if there was a Titoist movement in the Cominform countries. "A majority of people in those countries," he replied, "are opposed to the puppet regimes and strongly resent the exploitation of their homelands by the Soviets.

"I am not suggesting," he added, "that all these people are 'Titoists.' They are not. But they are in sympathy with our principle of independence."

Moscow, the Belgrade realists contend, is fearful that Titoism may even contaminate the Communists in China. Besides, they point out, it is not in Stalin's nature to tolerate heresy, particularly in his own backyard.

In addition to these "ideological" reasons, the Yugoslavs advance important strategical considerations. Whichever side controls Yugoslavia, they assert, will have control of the Balkans. And the Balkans are a key to all of Europe. This is known to Moscow only too well. Stalin fought Churchill tooth and nail for the right to have a "sphere of influence" in the Balkans.

Moscow is equally aware that Yugoslavia under Tito constitutes an exposed left flank in her military setup. She cannot consolidate her gains in Eastern Europe until Yugoslavia is driven back into the Red fold.

But if the Russians think that Tito's Yugoslavia is a pushover, they are indulging in a fatal illusion. As one military observer put it, "The Russians will learn that Yugoslavia is no South Korea. She is more like a dozen Finlands."

# FARMERS IN THE SADDLE

**by Richard L. Neuberger**

AMERICA HAS MOVED to town but its state legislatures have not. This, in essence, summarizes a situation which has practically disenfranchised the bulk of the nation's people, so far as representation beneath the 48 state-capitol domes is concerned.

Half a century ago 65 percent of the citizens of the United States lived on farms. Advance results of the 1950 census indicate that the proportion of rural dwellers is down to 38 percent and declining each year. Yet this phantom population, remnant of a majority long since vanished, continues to dominate state legislatures all across the land. The 38 percent of the people who still inhabit agricultural areas elect 75 percent of the country's state senators and representatives. As a result, urban residents are saddled with monopolistic laws which artificially keep up the price of milk and butter. Their children get the short end of the stick when school revenues are allocated. City traffic is unbelievably snarled because rural legislators take care of county roads before they improve downtown streets. Slum clearance is at the mercy of men who live in the wide-open spaces, and problems of racial discrimination are decided by politicians in whose counties resides not one Negro or Jew.

A phantom population may rule the statehouses of the nation, but the inequalities thus created are harsh and very real. Some rural counties in Ohio receive $433 more in state aid per pupil than do school districts in Cleveland. The *Plain Dealer* of that city tells why: "The reason lies in the basic flaw in Ohio's system of government—the malapportionment of representation that gives the rural counties control of the House of Representatives in a state that is, population-wise, predominantly urban." This anomaly prevails nationally, as well as in Ohio. It could be more critical than ever this year, particularly along the Pacific Coast, where vast population gains will justify at least 10 or 11 additional Congressional districts. Legislatures are empowered to draw the district lines, and some juicy gerrymandering probably will result.

Although the whole spirit of the US Constitution dictates that members of the Federal House of Representatives shall come from districts of equal population, the backwoods Washington state legislature of 1940 gave to 412,689 people in Seattle identical repre-

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sentation with only 244,908 people on the sagebrush uplands of the Columbia Basin. California's farm-ruled legislature balanced off a Congressional district of 392,616 inhabitants in downtown Los Angeles with a mere 218,002 souls in the Sierra Nevada region.

In this way, the error compounds itself. Denial of proper urban representation at the state capital results in similar disparity in the national Congress. It takes 467,760 people in Portland to elect a Congressman; 245,493 rate this same representation in the state's ranching hinterland, and the agrarian legislature at Salem thinks the arrangement is just dandy, the US Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.

**Even conservative opinion** is commencing to rebel against this rural tyranny. The recent United States Conference of Mayors, meeting in New York City, adopted a resolution calling for "initiative action leading to the reapportionment of state legislatures at the conclusion of the 1950 population census." Seattle's Mayor William F. Devin, a Republican, has said, "One-third of the American people, in effect, have no representation at all in the state legislatures of this country. The only crime of which these people are guilty and for which they have been disenfranchised is that they are unfortunate enough to live in cities and towns. . . ."

These are powerful voices. Why isn't something done?

To begin with, legislatures are the judge of their own membership. They determine the size and shape of districts for the upper and lower houses and in practically every state few politicians have the Spartan stoicism to vote away their jobs. Although the Constitution of Oregon requires that all state senators must come from districts of equal population, I represent 77,000 people in metropolitan Portland and a few desks from me sits a senator with 8,300 constituents in the sagebrush.

City folks are sitting ducks for this law-making body in which my urban constituents have exactly one-ninth the voice of some farm voters. Although in theory the legislature opposes controls, especially rent controls, Oregon has the most drastic milk-control act in the nation. However, this law is not intended to keep down milk prices. *It is designed to keep them up.* Grocery stores, for example, are forbidden to sell milk cheaper than dairies can deliver it house to house.

These legislative ghettos extend from Maine to California. To some degree, they stem from an exaggerated notion of the status of counties. Discrimination against cities often is defended on the grounds that a county within a state should enjoy the same equal representation which the individual states receive in the US Senate. The parallel is far from authentic. States are sovereign; counties are not. Counties possess no law-making powers. They are mere creatures of the state.

Many state constitutions are deliberately violated to keep the cities in subjugation. The frontiersmen who founded Oregon, for example, believed in democracy. After an extended debate in the constitutional convention, they voted decisively to make population the sole guide in setting up legislative districts. Their mandate has been willfully and intentionally flouted for 41 years.

Why do the courts not intervene? They exist to enforce the Constitution. State courts, which depend upon legislatures for their salaries and tenure, have uniformly held that reapportionment is a political rather than a judicial question. Oregon's courts agreed that the Constitution was being violated, but refused to end the farce. Nor does help seem likely from federal tribunals. In the Georgia county-unit case last October, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that a farmer could lawfully be 10 times as influential as a city voter in nominating a Governor or US Senator. Mississippi's law-making body has not been redistricted since 1892. Illinois operates under a zoning completed in 1908. Connecticut ventured a reapportionment 81 years ago. Tennessee's most recent reapportionment meanders back to 1834.

**Is there** no hope? Must legislation for housing, civil rights, traffic control, parking meters and local home rule be postponed indefinitely because farmers hold legislative seats out of all proportion to their numbers? In 22 states a solution is readily at hand. These states have the initiative and referendum. Although city dwellers may be voted down in a rotten-borough legislature, they can make their majority strength felt in a statewide popular balloting. An initiative measure calling for reapportionment can be placed on the ballot by obtaining the signatures of eight percent of the electorate.

What of the other states? Public opinion must be brought to bear more subtly in states where petitions do not apply. Pressure on the political parties is one avenue. Both Democrats and Republicans realize that while city folks cannot elect a majority of state legislatures under present undemocratic arrangements, they can decide such choice berths as Congress and the governorship.

Until the legislatures of the nation represent people rather than gaunt stretches of vacant land, it will be vain to talk of positive action by the states. The pioneers wrote into the old Northwest Ordinance the brave idea of equal representation. In most of the states today their words are honored only in the breach.

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Richard L. Neuberger, as his article indicates, is a member of the Oregon State Senate. He is also a feature writer for the Portland "Oregonian," a contributor to many magazines and the author of a number of books of which the best known are "Our Promised Land" and "The Life of George W. Norris," on which he collaborated with Stephen B. Kahn.

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# "THE CRUDE BIG LIE"

by Jean Begeman

THE MEDICINE MEN are poised over their tom-toms.

During the month of October, American newspapers and radio stations will beat out the largest and loudest campaign ever prepared by a professional organization. The American Medical Association and an assortment of allies have joined in an advertising campaign designed to abort the growing public interest in a national health-insurance program.

Representative John Dingell (R, Mich), sponsor of federal health legislation, describes the multi-million-dollar dose compounded by the physicians as an attempt "to doctor, drug, and slug the American people into believing the crude big lie that sickness is health; that insurance is socialism and communism; that the President's plan for National Health Insurance is socialized medicine."

The campaign was conceived last June when the AMA Board of Trustees approved an advertising budget totaling $1,110,000, the entire sum to be spent during two weeks in October (conveniently timed to affect the November elections). *Editor & Publisher* reported that the campaign against "state socialism" would mean $560,000 in full-page newspaper ads, $300,000 in radio propaganda and $250,000 in magazine ads. However, in the intervening two months, the million dollars turned out to be only a modest installment on the total cost of the anti-health campaign. The AMA tapped its allies for tie-in advertising to be scheduled simultaneously.

AMA President Elmer Henderson sent letters to 25,000 big corporations and to 7,000 members of the National Retail Dry Goods Association asking them to join in the program at the local level. The 24 largest insurance companies announced they "will bring up heavy advertising artillery to back the AMA campaign against socialized medicine," covering the 48 states from "coast to coast." Whitaker and Baxter, the husband-and-wife publicity team whose $100,000 a year contract has just been renewed by AMA, said the railroads and private power companies were cooperating.

Lawrence C. Wells, public-relations director of Blue Cross and Blue Shield health plans, announced that the organization had timed its own institutional promotion campaigns with the AMA's advertising program. Wholesale and retail drug companies have also joined the fray. An estimated $19 million will come from these tie-in ads. Newspaper and radio admen, who have watched this bonanza grow, look to October as the lushest in advertising history.

Terming the campaign "a tragic waste," Senator James E. Murray (D, Mont.) itemized what the $20 million *could* have brought in the way of medical care. It could have paid for:

One year's average medical costs for more than 160,000 families in the $3,000-a year bracket; or

Medical-school tuition for four years for 9,000 students who could care for six million patients when they became doctors; or

Eighteen times the present amount of dental research, estimated at about $1 million a year, to help decrease the $1 billion dental bill paid by patients every year; or

The training of 5,500 heart specialists to combat the 600,000 annual death toll from heart disease; or

A 100-bed mental or tuberculosis hospital, construction of 11 completely equipped health centers, and two-year fellowships for 2,000 scientists for advanced medical research.

**Instead of** fulfilling any one of these needs, which even the doctors themselves admit are critical, $20 million will be spent next month to bring the AMA "Message of Freedom" to the people.

The 980-line advertisement the doctor doctrinaires are running in 11,000 newspapers during the opening days of the campaign is entitled "Who Runs America? The Congress? The President? OR YOU AND THE MAN NEXT DOOR?" (see cut on page 16). The American eagle, with the frown of a corporation president after taxes, peers down at the answer:

> The reality of war has made every American think hard about the things he's willing to work and fight for—and freedom leads the list. But that freedom has been attacked here recently—just as it has been attacked in other parts of the world. One of the most serious threats to individual freedom has been the threat of Government-dominated Compulsory Health Insurance, falsely presented as a new guarantee of health *security* for everybody. . . . In the American manner, the people studied the case for Socialized Medicine—and the case against it. They found that Government domination of the people's medical affairs under Compulsory Health Insurance means lower standards of medical care, higher payroll taxes, loss of incentive, damage to research, penalties for the provident, rewards for the improvident. They found that no country on earth can surpass America's leadership in medical care and progress. . . .

The ad, listing 12 of "10,000 great organizations" on record against "Compulsory Health Insurance,"

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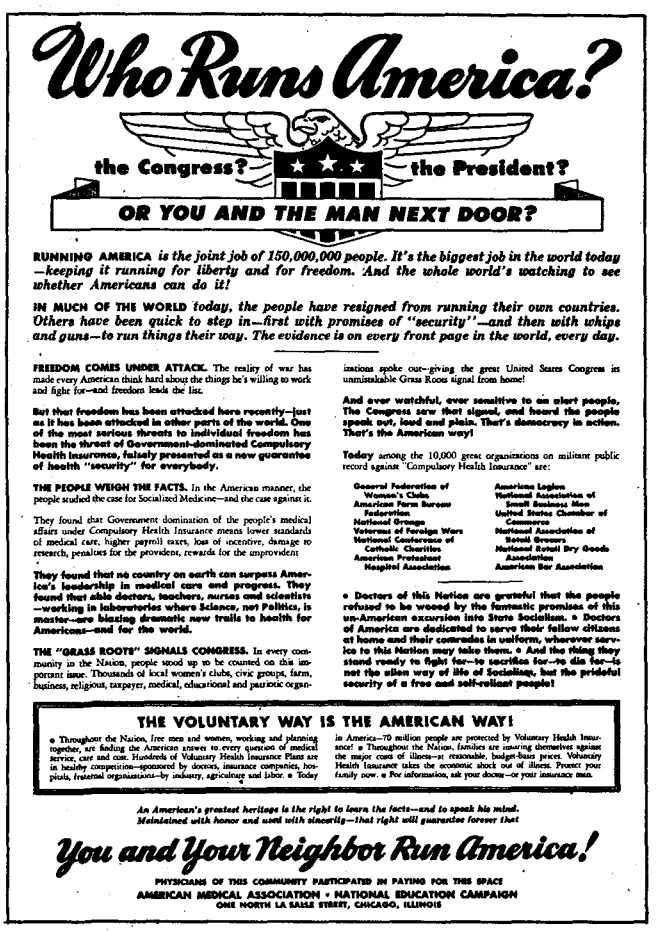
boasts that the people gave Congress a "Grass Roots" signal "and ever watchful, ever sensitive to an alert people, the Congress saw that signal, and heard the people speak out, loud and plain. That's democracy in action. That's the American way!" The doctors, the ad continues, are grateful that the people refused to be wooed by the fantastic promises of this un-American excursion into State Socialism. . . ."

If "the people" were so united against the Administration's health-insurance plan, the AMA shouldn't have needed such a costly campaign which, according to Whitaker and Baxter, is "without doubt, the broadest-coverage newspaper advertisement of the year." The Lockwood-Shackelford Company, a Chicago advertising agency, has distributed this ad and hundreds of others to 11,000 newspapers ("every bona-fide daily and weekly American newspaper"), 30 national magazines, the three Sunday newspaper supplements and the 28 independent Sunday magazine sections ("total circulation of over 38 million"), and more than 1,000 radio stations which will broadcast spot announcements ("covering every state, Hawaii and Alaska").



Who Runs America?

the Congress? the President?

OR YOU AND THE MAN NEXT DOOR?

**RUNNING AMERICA** *is the joint job of 150,000,000 people. It's the biggest job in the world today—keeping it running for liberty and for freedom. And the whole world's watching to see whether Americans can do it!*

**IN MUCH OF THE WORLD** *today, the people have resigned from running their own countries. Others have been quick to step in—first with promises of "security"—and then with whips and guns—to run things their way. The evidence is on every front page in the world, every day.*

**FREEDOM COMES UNDER ATTACK.** The reality of war has made every American think hard about the things he's willing to work and fight for—and freedom leads the list.

**But that freedom has been attacked here recently—just as it has been attacked in other parts of the world. One of the most serious threats to individual freedom has been the threat of Government-dominated Compulsory Health Insurance, falsely presented as a new guarantee of health "security" for everybody.**

**THE PEOPLE WEIGH THE FACTS.** In the American manner, the people studied the case for Socialized Medicine—and the case against it.

They found that Government domination of the people's medical affairs under Compulsory Health Insurance means lower standards of medical care, higher payroll taxes, loss of incentive, damage to research, penalties for the provident, rewards for the improvident.

**They found that no country on earth can surpass America's leadership in medical care and progress. They found that able doctors, teachers, nurses and scientists—working in laboratories where Science, not Politics, is master—are blazing dramatic new trails to health for Americans—and for the world.**

**THE "GRASS ROOTS" SIGNALS CONGRESS.** In every community in the Nation, people stood up to be counted on this important issue. Thousands of local women's clubs, civic groups, farm, business, religious, taxpayer, medical, educational and patriotic organizations spoke out—giving the great United States Congress its unmistakable Grass Roots signal from home!

**And ever watchful, ever sensitive to an alert people, The Congress saw that signal, and heard the people speak out, loud and plain. That's democracy in action. That's the American way!**

**Today** among the 10,000 great organizations on militant public record against "Compulsory Health Insurance" are:

| | |
|---|---|
| General Federation of Women's Clubs | American Legion |
| American Farm Bureau Federation | National Association of Small Business Men |
| National Grange | United States Chamber of Commerce |
| Veterans of Foreign Wars | National Association of Retail Grocers |
| National Conference of Catholic Charities | National Retail Dry Goods Association |
| American Protestant Hospital Association | American Bar Association |

• **Doctors of this Nation are grateful that the people refused to be wooed by the fantastic promises of this un-American excursion into State Socialism.** • **Doctors of America are dedicated to serve their fellow citizens at home and their comrades in uniform, wherever service to this Nation many take them.** • **And the thing they stand ready to fight for—to sacrifice for—to die for—is not the alien way of life of Socialism, but the prideful security of a free and self-reliant people!**

**THE VOLUNTARY WAY IS THE AMERICAN WAY!**

• Throughout the Nation, free men and women, working and planning together, are finding the American answer to every question of medical service, care and cost. Hundreds of Voluntary Health Insurance Plans are in healthy competition—sponsored by doctors, insurance companies, hospitals, fraternal organizations—by industry, agriculture and labor. • Today in America—70 million people are protected by Voluntary Health Insurance! • Throughout the Nation, families are insuring themselves against the major costs of illness—at reasonable, budget-basis prices. Voluntary Health Insurance takes the economic shock out of illness. Protect your family now. • For information, ask your doctor—or your insurance man.

*An American's greatest heritage is the right to learn the facts—and to speak his mind. Maintained with honor and used with sincerity—that right will guarantee forever that*

You and Your Neighbor Run America!

PHYSICIANS OF THIS COMMUNITY PARTICIPATED IN PAYING FOR THIS SPACE
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION • NATIONAL EDUCATION CAMPAIGN
ONE NORTH LA SALLE STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

**FIRST SHOT FIRED**

**This advertisement, first shot in the American Medical Association's million-dollar attack on President Truman's National Health Insurance program, will appear in 11,000 newspapers during the week of October 8.**

While this is the first concentrated dose of "consumer" propaganda administered by the AMA, the doctor's lobby has been listed "top spender" under the Lobby Registration Act, last year budgeting more than $2 million against the President's national-health program and distributing 55 million pieces of propaganda during those 12 months.

In its desperate attempt to kill public interest in any form of federal aid—to train doctors, build hospitals, encourage research or lower medical costs—the AMA has wandered from its original purpose as an objective, professional organization of doctors united to keep in touch with every step of medical progress. It has become a politically-minded, publicity-seeking organization. An enthusiastic editorial, entitled "The Value of Advertising" and appearing in the September 16 issue of the AMA *Journal,* says "Advertising, freedom of the press, American ingenuity and old-fashioned but ever needed 'git up and go' have made this country what it is. . . . The AMA . . . campaign . . . is intended to help preserve the freedom this country has enjoyed."

Whether or not the AMA can inoculate the American people with its propaganda injection remains to be seen. There is increasing doubt on the part of conservative businessmen about the effectiveness of this type of institutional advertising. They are discovering that many people don't bother to read it, and that those who do have remarkably little interest in what business has to say about "free enterprise" and "the American Way of Life." Since most readers consider themselves experts on good Americanism, they resent the inference that comes with having the definition spelled out in high-sounding phrases, as the slickest of the business magazines points out in its current issue.

If the editors of the AMA *Journal* have looked up from their own magazine long enough to read this article (in the September issue of *Fortune*), they might begin to wonder about the value of their grandiose campaign.

The Free Enterprise campaign [*Fortune* says] is shaping up as one of the most intensive "sales" jobs in the history of industry. . . . This year it will probably account for at least $100 million of industry's ad budget and an unknown but hefty share of its employee-relations expenditures. . . . And it is not worth a damn. . . .

Can you merchandise a concept as you do a concrete article; can you homogenize it and package it for mass distribution, hawk it over the air waves, or even, for that matter, sell it door to door? . . .

The Free Enterprise campaign is psychologically unsound, it is abstract, it is defensive, and it is negative. . . . In a great many of its aspects it represents a shocking lack of faith in the American people, and in some cases downright contempt.

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# HAROLD L. ICKES: *Need Justice Be Deaf and Dumb?*

JUSTICE is supposed to be blind, and should be, but it should not also be deaf and dumb. Yet the Department of Justice has been all three, or worse, with respect to the offshore lands of California, Texas and Louisiana, that are saturated with oil.

When Tom C. Clark was Attorney General, he refused to file a suit against California in the Supreme Court until President Truman made him do it. After delaying as long as he could, he finally took part in the trial of the case, while those who hoped for a decision favorable to the government trembled. In his statement to the Court, he improperly tried to take his own State of Texas out from under any possible finding in favor of the United States. For this, he was properly rebuked by the Court.

Before the Court could decide just what offshore lands were covered by its decision, Clark and former Secretary of the Interior Krug wrongfully stipulated that all of the wells contiguous to the City of Long Beach, California, located landward of an arbitrary line drawn from Point Fermin to Gaviota Street, were not affected by the decree of the Court. Clark and Krug must have known that they could not legally draw an arbitrary line and call everything landward of it an inland waterway. Misfeasance is the word to describe the act of federal officials in giving away property belonging to the United States.

To add insult to the injury inflicted by them upon the people, Clark and Krug held that the Mineral Leasing Act did not apply to offshore oil lands. This improper ruling has been permitted to stand by their respective successors, Attorney General McGrath and Secretary of the Interior Chapman. Thus Clark and Krug not only gave away extremely valuable federal property, they sent to the morgue the only power that the federal government possessed to make use of the property that belongs to it.

Following this curious behavior, Clark filed suits against the States of Louisiana and Texas. The Louisiana suit, in effect, was an attempt to reopen the California case. At the time I pointed out that the ruling in the California case applied to Louisiana. The Department of Justice, under Attorney General McGrath, took this position when it tried the Louisiana case. The Supreme Court again found for the government, thus refusing, in effect, to reopen the California case, as to which the Court had already denied a motion for a rehearing.

Did the Department of Justice really try to win the Texas case? Following the California decision, Clark had become an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court but the Department of Justice continued to be stacked with his appointees and dominated by his policies.

Perhaps this may explain the failure of the Department of Justice to raise, in its brief in the Texas case, a point that would seem to overcome the argument of Texas that, since it had joined the Union as an independent sovereignty, it was in full possession of all of the lands it owned originally. There can be no doubt that, when it joined the Union, Texas reserved rights to all of the lands that it possessed as an independent sovereignty. But subsequently, Texas rebelled against the Union. When it was taken back after its unconditional surrender, it was bereft of all rights not restored to it by the United States. Rights to offshore oil lands were included in the unconditional surrender of Texas and, since they have not been restored, they remain in the United States, as the Supreme Court has already found although on different grounds.

The point here presented was brought to the attention of the Department of Justice before the trial of the Texas case. Why was not this point at least brought to the attention of the Court, if Justice really wished to win? The explanation that was made to me personally, in response to an inquiry, explained nothing except the known fact that the point was not raised. Now Texas is pressing for a rehearing. Will the government, through the Department of Justice, introduce this new and highly important issue, even though belatedly? In short, does the Department of Justice want to win the Texas tidelands case?

**Two other questions:** Are the members of the Texas delegation in Congress, headed by Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senators Connally and Johnson, federal or state officials? There can certainly be no doubt of their eagerness to serve the oil companies. Yet, they have all sworn, some of them many, many times, to uphold and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States. Their salaries and expense accounts are paid by the people of the United States. Their mileage, to and from Washington, at 20 cents a mile, is largely an emolument that comes out of the federal treasury. Their elaborate offices are supplied, their staffs are compensated, even their stamps and their telephone and telegraph bills are paid by the people. Are they serving God or Mammon; the United States or the oil interests?

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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## MORAL VALUES IN MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

**by David Fellman**

SIR JOHN SEELEY once observed that "politics are vulgar when not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to politics." This dictum is even more appropriate in our age of highly specialized professional scholarship than it was when first expressed. We may well say that "pure" economics is a fiction, and probably a harmful one, and that a political science which does not take into view the basic economic realities is arid conceptualism. A "science" of politics which disregards the evolving factors of production will simply be ignored. A "science" of economics which leaves out of account the social forces of life and the moral values men live by is about as meaningful as a history restricted to a chronicle of rulers and generals. It may well be that Karl Marx's real contribution to economics lay not in his analysis of value theory, but in the fact that he brought to it a note of moral indignation.

THE SOCIAL COSTS OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, by K. William Kapp (Harvard University Press; $4.50).

THE NEW SOCIETY: THE ANATOMY OF INDUSTRIAL ORDER, by Peter F. Drucker (Harper; $5).

Measured in such terms, Peter Drucker and K. William Kapp will not be ignored, for their horizons are broad. Drucker is a political scientist for whom such concepts as "sovereignty," "government," "politics" and "citizenship" reach far beyond the confines of academic orthodoxy. Kapp is a professional economist, quite familiar with classical economic thought, who believes that to be meaningful his discipline must transcend supply-and-demand curves. Both books are incomplete, but both have the merit of taking the large view.

The books are incomplete in the sense that they raise questions which they discuss either not at all or inadequately. But it has been observed that intelligence lies not so much in the answers which a man advances as in the questions of which he is aware. Both Kapp and Drucker come to grips with some of the central problems of a modern industrial society; they raise questions which we cannot ignore.

Kapp's study is concerned with "the manner in which private enterprise under conditions of unregulated competition tends to give rise to social costs which are not accounted for in entrepreneurial outlays but instead are shifted to and borne by third persons and the community as a whole." This concept was largely ignored by the classical economists, whose value theory was focused on costs and returns, measured in terms of money, in a market assumed to be rational and orderly. Many latter-day economists, however, have been concerned with social costs, and Kapp acknowledges his debt to them. Socialist writers — Sismondi, Marx, Engels, Fourier, Hobson and the Webbs—neoclassical economists, particularly A. C. Pigou, in his *Economics of Welfare,* and the Veblen school, all drew attention to the phenomenon of social costs.

The bulk of Kapp's book is devoted to an analysis of a wide variety of social costs: those resulting from the impairment of the physical and mental health of workers, from air and water pollution, from the depletion of animal and energy resources, from soil erosion, soil depletion and deforestation, and from technological change, unemployment and idle resources. He also considers the social costs of monopoly, of distribution and transportation, and those implicit in the frustration of science. In all cases, he seeks to gather together as evidence the best available statistics, and to measure in terms of money, whenever possible, the magnitude of costs not borne by private enterprise. His net conclusion is that "capitalism must be regarded as an economy of unpaid costs."

But Kapp specifically rejects the notion that regulation and economic planning will necessarily eliminate these social costs. He does not examine the possibility that they may be avoided or reduced in some other type of economic organization. The next step on the agenda, he thinks, is the development of a new science of political economy, grounded in philosophy, and geared to social factors which rise above the market economy. In short, a meaningful science of economics must be rooted in a synthesis of the social sciences; it must abandon its philosophical isolation. If anything is to be done about the social costs of private enterprise, we must first have the facts.

**Drucker** is also a synthesizer, but he works on a larger canvas with brighter oils and a more vigorous journalistic brush. His book seeks to describe, as its subtitle indicates, nothing less than the "anatomy of the industrial order." His thesis, briefly, is that the most important thing about the new society of our century is that it is built upon the revolutionary principle of mass production. This principle is not confined to the production of goods, but is, rather, "a general principle for organizing people to work together." The characteristic institutions of the new society is the industrial enterprise, necessarily big, and serving as a governmental and social as well as an economic institution. It has produced two new classes: a ruling group of managerial executives and union leaders and a new middle class of technicians and middle-managers. The industrial working class is steadily shrinking both in size and in importance. Drucker undertakes to show how these groups can learn to live together tolerably well within the framework of the enterprise. It is a man-size job.

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The basic problems of the enterprise are the same, Drucker believes, whatever form the over-all legal and political pattern of ownership and control may take. "As far as the worker is concerned, the management in the government-owned enterprise of a Socialist state is fully as much 'management' as if the enterprise were personally owned by J. P. Morgan and operated for his exclusive benefit." The enterprise, if it is to fulfill its function, must survive, it must be profitable, it must produce. Management must manage, supervisers must supervise, workers must work. The central problem is to fuse the human factors of production into a harmonious team in which each does his proper job and finds adequate satisfactions in doing so.

Drucker believes that for both economic and political reasons the so-called privately-owned enterprise, better described negatively as one not owned by government, offers the best hope for the perpetuation of a free society, but his book is by no means an apology for stand-pat conservatism. The authority and functions of management are legitimate and essential, but the same must be said of the trade unions. He believes that management must accept the fact of unionism and recognize that the unions have independent functions of their own in the organization and functioning of the plant community. While the unions must not meddle with the legitimate functions of management, it is also true that the worker finds his best expression of citizenship in the plant community, in the life of which the union holds, or ought to hold, a central position. Just as Kapp places economic costs in their social setting, so Drucker points up the non-economic aspects of life in a mass-production industrial society, without falling into the pitfall of a fatuous sort of good-hearted paternalism. Nor does his thinking lead to any easy rejection of government controls; on the contrary, law has a vital place in imposing and enforcing changes in the rules of the game for all parties concerned.

Drucker raises a great many fundamental questions about the new society, far more than can be mentioned in a short review. He believes that the worker can and should be given greater security of income and employment, and that his antipathy to profits can be overcome by giving him a share in them by means of a fund earmarked for social benefits. He believes that while enterprise must be big, it can be kept safe through organization along the lines of the federal principle. He also believes that "management must manage" without interfering with the worker's self-government through the unions. But above all, the integrity of the enterprise must be respected. He goes so far as to suggest that corporate stockholders should not have voting rights, but only a claim to profits, since the mere investment of money does not involve social or political responsibility. In any event, Drucker has raised the discussion above the familiar clichés about "capitalism" and "socialism." His insistence that the new society, organized on mass-production principles, is *sui generis*, will challenge every reflective observer, however much he may care to quarrel with this or that detail.

David Fellman is professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin.

## FIFTY MISSIONS

FACE OF A HERO, by Leo Falstein (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

THERE WERE TIMES when a writer could count on his war novel staying current for at least a dozen years. Today, the war novelist who doesn't want to become suddenly dated must bring out his *War and Peace* in a form something like an evening newspaper—with flashes, extras and replates. Otherwise, as in the case of Leo Falstein's warm-hearted, honestly-told tale of the Italy-based Fifteenth Air Force, another war is on him before he has been able to get his own off the presses.

Where the New War plays a little hob with *Face of a Hero* is in Falstein's pre-publication assumption that the dreadful sufferings of our flying men in World War II were to be made worthwhile by the peace, decency and brotherhood which were going to descend on mankind immediately after the last bomb bay was closed. It has not worked out quite that way.

But as a kind of documentary of what life was like in a bombing plane, as a revelation of the day-to-day agonies of the men whom the infantry dismissed as the "fly-boys," *Face of a Hero* has a good deal still to tell us. In its directness, in its skill at drawing the reader into sharing the combat experience of the characters, it is as successful an account of the sky-slogging airman as Van Van Praag's *Day without End* was of the mud-caked foot soldier.

Centering his story on the 50 missions to be sweated out by a 35-year-old tail gunner before he can go home (which was the author's own war experience), Falstein shows us that those crews of ten inside the fragile aluminum skins were anything but the Fancy Dans they might have looked like before or after their 50 missions. They lived in desolate barracks in the midst of nowhere, with almost no contact with the native population except when they got drunk between missions, and were bound to show themselves at their worst. They rose to fight in the dark hours when most other men, at their weakest, were deep in sleep.

The most fervid travelers of all times, they roamed the skies of a continent, hopping over three and four countries on a single journey, but they knew the capital cities only by the density of their flak.

Ploesti, whose oil refineries were all too well guarded, they called a graveyard. And Vienna, with its 400 anti-aircraft guns, evoked such frightful associations that they never mentioned its name if they could help it. Their favorite cities were those where the flak fell well short of bombing altitude—these were "the milk runs," and loved dearly.

What they envied most about the infantryman, ironically, was his foxhole. In the air, against flak, there was simply no place to hide as the monstrous black roses bloomed all about you. Either you got through or you didn't; it was completely out of your hands. Against enemy fighting planes it was a little bet-

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ter: the gunners had something to answer with—but for the four officers of each crew it was the worst of all. Pilot, co-pilot, bombardier and navigator went unarmed and had to sweat through each such engagement in agonized impotence.

As a novel, *Face of a Hero* does not perhaps go as deep as it might into the character of people as people (though the author has a keen ear for the varied configurations of their speech). On a documentary level, however, it is one of the best-told tales of air combat in World War II. DAVID DAVIDSON

**David Davidson is the author of "The Steeper Cliff" and "The Hour of Truth"; his new novel, "In Another Country," will be published late in October.**

## JAPAN'S FUTURE

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, by Edwin O. Reischauer (Harvard University Press; $4).

THE American Foreign Policy Library, edited by Sumner Welles, could not have published the current volume in its valuable series at a more opportune moment. There can be no just and tenable solution to the Korean or Formosan issues which does not take into consideration the status of our relations with Japan and those of Japan with the entire world. As a summary of basic information required for intelligent thinking about the Japanese, Professor Reischauer's book is as authoritative and stimulating as it is timely.

After a short, pointed introduction by Welles, the book summarizes the history of American-Japanese relations and then immediately proceeds to the central questions regarding Japan's future. Can Japan maintain a satisfactory standard of living? Has our occupation succeeded in converting the conquered to the beliefs of the conquerors? What are the prospects for the political, economic and social changes which we instituted and enforced?

As background for analyzing these and other problems, Professor Reischauer describes Japan's physical setting —its terrain, resources, population, climate, etc. According to the author, the Japanese must take one of two diametrically opposed courses to solve the basic difficulty of overpopulation. "Either they must fight for empire," he writes, "or they must be champions of world peace and order and more international trade."

A treatment of the Japanese character follows. In the past this topic has enjoyed almost as many interpretations as interpreters. Reischauer's judgments are occasionally handicapped by the obscurantism of pedagogical terminology. His opinions, however, are not professorially dogmatic. He gives his readers the record of past performances so they can draw their own conclusions on why, for example, authoritarianism is a distinguishing Japanese characteristic.

In his concluding chapters the author discusses the role of the American occupation and sizes up current conditions in Japan. He is not as skeptical as many about the lasting results of MacArthur's mission, but he is by no means blind to its potential deficiencies. His objectivity enables him to draw up an honest bal-


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● The Committee For The Nation's Health is the ONLY national organization of independent-minded doctors, laymen, and labor unions working in behalf of a national pay-as-you-go medical care program for all Americans as a matter of right. No $20,000,000 slush fund—$666,666.66 daily during October—is available to the Committee. Our fighting funds come from people like you. Your dollars now will bring the truth to the American people—will stop the AMA's Great Lie. Use this coupon today.

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**A *complete* "National Health Insurance Handbook" to answer AMA Propaganda is ready for editors, active trade unionists, physicians, members of Congress, educators and community leaders. Every fighting liberal needs this ammunition.**

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ance sheet as a guide to our future course. Only at the end does Reischauer permit himself a few opinions. Reform in Japan, he points out, must go through two stages. In the first—setting up new laws and procedures "making possible new patterns of conduct"—our firm leadership was necessary and desirable. In the second stage—during which the Japanese must, through practice, conduct themselves according to the new patterns—the author believes "the outside mentor becomes perhaps more of a liability than an asset." While he is quick to recognize the dangers of an American withdrawal (even before the Korean catastrophe), he seems to favor "a complete end to occupation controls, [which would] restore Japan to a status of real independence, limited only by the rules of international law and the universal principles of mankind as expressed through the UN and enforced by the community of nations."

There are strong warnings for those who feel that the Far Eastern crisis merits acceptance of the Japanese as fighting allies at once. Having been encouraged to renounce war, the Japanese "could scarcely maintain any belief in our sincerity or in the validity of the ideal of world peace" if we rearm them. Furthermore, Reischauer cautions, "a restored army and navy in Japan might overbalance the scales against democracy."

Obviously the fate of Japan depends upon the kind of world we are going to achieve. It would be naïve to think that the Japanese people will not interest themselves in the outcome of that struggle. As the author reminds us, "the ultimate decision in Japan will be made by the Japanese and not by us." If we can bring about (not "restore") both peace and democracy in the Far East, we shall almost surely have the Japanese with us.

A proper historian, Reischauer places no all-out bets of his own. The speed of events since he finished this book has justified his academic caution and heightened the importance of his work. It is a volume which underlines the dangers of oversimplifying the complexities of our Far Eastern entangle-


# Wanted: *Some $1 'Angels'*

Amateur literature has to appeal to the shame and injustice of people to get a buck. In the main it is whipped by economic and social circumstance, and made imbecile and cowardly. The *grand opera* idea of American publishing has built up an immense crowd of cowed and stupid chattels of literary utterance—it is 'cutting' nearly all the folk who try to write!

Do you believe in these sorry castrations of print? That the young writer, the unknown author, must give up the soil of his honesty, the pitchblende of his real sorrows and joys and become a literary eunuch who merely *amuses* several million supposed readers at a time before he is allowed to appear in print?

We didn't believe you did—in the kind of page where you will have a chance to read this. And we are founding a publication—*Literary Amateur*—dedicated to your disbelief. In a short time *Literary Amateur* will come from the press. It is liberal and real, it will present a host of unknown writers who are liberal and real, and who are not now published!—Writers who cry some, who laugh some, who live and know life and give expression to existence as it is in the shadows of the trees, as it runs over the rocks, as it is in all the grand ugliness and beauty of the masses. Yes, LA is a trek into the literary barrens, nonstaked and uncharted but from whence conflues the eventual incalculable Mississippi of our power for war and peace, for articulation and progress. For out of the barrens come the men and women who *dare* to think, who *dare* to be strong in their beliefs, who *dare* to speak plainly and honestly!

Don't you think you should spend a dollar on this pioneering caravan striking out across the Konklaved desert? We are asking two thousand people to drop a *charter* dollar in the cradle for a full year! You will be thrilled—or get your dollar back!

Don't be a cheated tyrant—hear the unheard!

The Acorn has sprouted!

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ments and indicates that a military victory in Korea, in the historian's long view, may not—by itself—save much but face. RICHARD LAUTERBACH

**Richard Lauterbach, who died with tragic suddenness of poliomyelitis on September 20, was 36 years old. He was a newspaper and magazine writer with wide experience in Russia and the Far East and had written a number of books on those areas, among them, "These Are the Russians," "Through Russia's Back Door" and "Danger from the East." At the time of his death he was at work on a biography of Charlie Chaplin.**

# THEATRE

## English Acting

ENGLISH GRACIOUSNESS is in evidence these days by virtue of the Sadler's Wells Ballet at the Metropolitan Opera House and in James Bridie's play, "Daphne Laureola," at the Music Box. Aside from graciousness, there is no resemblance between the two events. Margot Fonteyn, who is the chief glory of the English ballet company, is lyric and lovely as a flower on a beautifully appointed table. Edith Evans, the star of "Daphne Laureola," hides a formidable robustness beneath her fine manners.

The Bridie play, despite the excellence of the two leading actors, is not well produced. It is set and directed as if it were a ponderously realistic study of an unhappy woman of fifty married to an English peer of eighty-three. Actually the play is a lightly humorous and quasi-poetic anecdote in which Bridie reminds us that many women prefer the pain of loveless domestic security to being the floating image of some mythical goddess in the minds of romantic young men.

Bridie likes to ramble a bit, he doesn't give a darn for structural correctness (he is in no hurry), he may wax philosophical or symbolic with a kind of arch carelessness, but he is nearly always engaging in the manner of a garrulous, good-hearted, crotchety, but still eminently sensible old man. His slight play is civilized entertainment for people somewhat less nervous than our opening-night audiences.

The main attraction of the play for Americans must lie in the acting of Edith Evans. (Cecil Parker as the husband is also first-rate, but his part is relatively small.) I found Miss Evans' performance highly satisfying. You may think this small praise; I assure you that it is not. Most of the good acting we see in New York nowadays is good in the sense that we *like* the people who do it because of some accident of their personality: so-and-so is charming, the other is sweet, the third is warm, etc., etc. With Edith Evans we are in the presence of an actress for whom very little is accidental. She is a professional in the full sense of the word. Her voice is magnificent, her diction powerfully impeccable, her carriage remarkable, her sense of comedy refreshing and her understanding unimpeachable.

The English actor begins with an advantage. He is part of a civilization where a certain grace of manner is almost universal. English politeness, which usually has something almost tender about it, is a national characteristic that strikes us in the theatre as an attribute of the actor's personality rather than as a cultural trait. This gives the English actor a certain *form,* which, I repeat, is not artistic, but social. An actress like Edith Evans knows how to apply this sense of form to the needs of her role. Her acting, in which every stroke is studied and completely rendered, fills the frame of her part's meaning.

Through technical mastery, then, the form of Edith Evans' acting becomes its content; one may go so far as to say that it substitutes itself for the content. Haven't we always heard that form and content must be one? But form must arise from content, must be, so to speak, its tangible expression. In Edith Evans' performance of the Bridie play there is hardly any content aside from the form. When we see what she does so superbly we have seen all. Her speech, gestures, movement are complete and leave no echo. There are no tones beyond those that have reached our outer ear; there is no residue of feeling beyond what we are asked to recognize. Nothing remains that might grow within us. Nothing is demanded of us except to appreciate the specific matters which the performance presents. There is no element of mystery.

Acting which is all consciously made addresses itself entirely to the consciousness and satisfies the consciousness only. The actor's complete control meets with a response that is equally controlled—that is, confined to what we have been ordered to see and understand. In terms of acting technique, we may say that such acting represents not the behavior of the soul so much as theatrical projection. But perhaps it is even more pertinent to say that the significance of human action—its deepest worth and affective sway—does not derive from the consciousness alone. That is why so much English acting which is very fine (especially where the depiction of minute character traits is concerned) is so satisfactory as craft and so limited as art.

HAROLD CLURMAN

# MUSIC

## New Records

THE BATTLE of the revolutions ended when RCA Victor, after two years of stubbornness, capitulated to the demand for 33 1/3-r.p.m. long-playing records. Many items in the RCA catalogue are now provided at three speeds—33 1/3,

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the data shown above was: 28,557.

DANIEL MEBANE,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of September, 1950.

MARIAN T. KEENAN, Notary Public.
My commission expires March 30, 1951.

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45 and 78. Columbia, the other major American manufacturer, limits its issues to 33 1/3 and 78, and employs 7-inch 33 1/3-r.p.m. records for pieces too short to warrant the 10-inch LP size.

A batch of RCA Victor LP records that suffers as little as any from reprocessing was released as a follow-up of Arturo Toscanini's nationwide tour with the NBC Symphony Orchestra last spring. Ravel's Second "Daphnis and Chloe" Suite, played coldly but with due regard for the translucent orchestration, shares a record with a noble interpretation of Beethoven's Third "Leonore" Overture. Mozart's Divertimento in B flat major, K. 287, for strings and two horns, performed with Toscanini's customary expertness and taste in the interpretation of Mozart, adds another title to the mushrooming list of charming but inconsequential eighteenth-century recordings. Most noteworthy of the present Toscanini group is a series of excerpts from Berlioz's eloquent and marvelously scored "Romeo and Juliet" Symphony; the reverse side of the record contains a stiffly factual account of Tchaikovsky's evocation of the same love affair.

Columbia signed a contract with Sir Thomas Beecham (taking him away from RCA Victor) in time to issue some recordings a month in advance of his American tour with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, which opens in late October. The coupling of Mozart's "Jupiter" and "Prague" Symphonies will find a ready audience, since many people consider Beecham a great Mozart interpreter. This time, however, the music sounds routine and commonplace. Bizet's Suite from "The Fair Maid of Perth" is played with enormous zest on another record, backed by Delius' lush and redundant early tone-poem, "Over the Hills and Far Away," which Beecham approaches with loving sympathy.

At the current price of $4.85 a record (for RCA Victor and Columbia; Cetra-Soria's Italian imports run a little higher), full-length operas are accessible to more collectors than they used to be; they normally occupy no more than three discs. Columbia has imported a superlative version of Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffmann" (three LP records), conducted by André Cluytens and sung by members of the Paris Opéra-Comique.

Verdi's "Falstaff" (three LP records), imported by Cetra-Soria, is performed in a fashion much superior to the confined, disciplinarian interpretation Toscanini broadcast over NBC last spring. Giuseppe Taddei is a deft and amusing Falstaff, and Mario Rossi, the conductor, permits the cast to express more of the humor and sentiment of the score than Toscanini's over-metrical performance admitted.

Cetra-Soria also offers three one-act operas, each on a single disc in its own cardboard box, with the libretto pasted in. "Il Tabarro" and "Gianni Schicchi," the first and last of the works constituting Puccini's "triptych" ("Suor Angelica," a sentimental piece entirely for women's voices, is the middle one), are set forth competently, though only Taddei's comic impersonation of the scheming Schicchi measures up to the artistry of the "Falstaff" performance. "Il Campanello," a little-known, frothy *opera buffa* by Donizetti, requires more glittering coloratura and better-inflected lyric singing than the low-budget cast could provide.

RCA Victor offers Kurt Weill's folk opera "Down in the Valley" (one 10-inch LP record; $3.85), with Marion Bell and Alfred Drake as romantic leads. There is more effect than substance to the music, and "Down in the Valley" wears thin after a few hearings.

**The shocking** deterioration of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in the single year since Serge Koussevitzky's retirement is evident in Charles Munch's rough, rapid and coarse treatment of Ravel's "La Valse" (one 78-r.p.m., 12-inch RCA Victor record). The Philadelphia Orchestra, fortunately, plays more beautifully than ever in Eugene Ormandy's new recordings—available on a single Columbia LP disc—of Ravel's Second "Daphnis and Chloe" Suite and Schönberg's "Verklärte Nacht" (the music used in the ballet, "Pillar of Fire"). CECIL SMITH


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